

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

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R 281010Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9824

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 13545

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, MNUC, NATO, FR

SUBJECT: GISCARD ON SECURITY AFFAIRS

1. SUMMARY: ECHOING SOME OF THE IDEAS ON SECURITY HE
DISCUSSED IN HIS LE FIGARO INTERVIEW (PARIS 12818),
GISCARD TOLD THE PRESS ON MAY 21 THAT A "EUROPEAN
DEFENSE" CAN ONLY FOLLOW -- NOT PRECEDE -- EUROPEAN
POLITICAL UNITY; FRANCE DOES NOT INTEND TO STATION
PLUTON IN THE FRG; THE NATO SUMMIT DINNER WILL OFFER THE
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OPPORTUNITY FOR A GISCARD-FORD MEETING; AND, WHILE THE

USSR HAS NO AGGRESSIVE INTENTION TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE, FRANCE MUST KEEP ITS POWDERDRY. TAKEN TOGETHER' THESE STATEMENTS UNDERSCORE GISCARD'S EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE HIS RELATIONS WITH THE THREE NON-FRENCH PLAYERS ON THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SCENE: THE U.S., FRG AND USSR -- BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF FRENCH "INDEPENDENCE." END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE COURSE OF A LUNCHEON MEETING WITH THE PRESS ON MAY 21, GISCARD MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS CONCERNING SECURITY MATTERS:

A. EUROPEAN DEFENSE: THE SUBJECT OF A "EUROPEAN DEFENSE" CANNOT BE TACKLED UNTIL EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTED. PREMATURE EFFORTS TOWARD THE ORGANIZATION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE WILL IMPERIL MOVEMENT TOWARD EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY. MOREOVER, SOVIET REACTION TO RECENT EFFORTS TOWARD A EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY, AND THE PREFERENCE BY MANY EUROPEAN NATIONS FOR AN INTEGRATED DEFENSE WITHIN NATO UNDERLINE THE FUTILITY OF ANY EFFORTS NOW TO CONSTRUCT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE IDENTITY.

B. PLUTON: FRANCE HAS NO INTENTION OF STATIONING ITS PLUTON TACTICAL NUCLEAR MISSILES IN THE FRG. NOR ARE THERE TALKS AT PRESENT BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE FRENCH ON THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, "AT THE RIGHT MOMENT" FRANCE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT WITH THE FRG.

C. NATO SUMMIT: FRANCE REMAINS A MEMBER OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH IT DOES NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. THE DINNER OFFERED BY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS WILL GIVE GISCARD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT FORD DURING HIS FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE.

D. SOVIET MILITARY THREAT: WHILE THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO AGGRESSIVE INTENTION TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE, WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF "VERY STRONG MILITARY POTENTIAL," WHICH POSES PROBLEMS FOR FRANCE.

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3. COMMENT:

A. EUROPEAN DEFENSE: WE BELIEVE GISCARD HAS DROPPED POMPIDOU'S AND JOBERT'S PRETENSIONS THAT EUROPE SHOULD FIND SOME WAY TO ORGANIZE ITS OWN "EUROPEAN DEFENSE" IDENTITY. GISCARD SEEMS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS SUBJECT IS NOT ATTRACTIVE TO MOST OF HIS EUROPEAN ALLIES RIGHT

NOW. IT ALSO PRODUCES A NEGATIVE REACTION FROM MOSCOW THAT COULD ENDANGER THE FRANCO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP SO IMPORTANT TO GISCARD. WE TAKE AT FACE VALUE HIS STATEMENT OF PRIORITIES WHICH PUTS EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY FAR AHEAD OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE UNITY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT GISCARD IS NOT PREPARED TO LOOK FOR SOME DEGREE OF EUROPEAN ARMAMENT COOPERATION IN THE EC OR WEU FRAMEWORK: E.G.. IN HIS LE FIGARO INTERVIEW, GISCARD SAID, "WE HAVE NOT YET ARRIVED AT THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE, BUT WE ARE ALREADY THINKING ABOUT THE FACT THAT

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/052 W

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R 281010Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9825

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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WE MAY HAVE THE INDUSTRIAL MEANS TO ASSUME A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF OUR DEFENSE." MOREOVER, OUR QUAI SOURCES HAVE RECENTLY TOLD US THAT, WHILE FRANCE WILL NOT PRESS EC-NINE DISCUSSION OF SECURITY MATTERS, IT DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE EC AS A FORUM FOR POSSIBLE ARMAMENT COOPERATION.

B. PLUTON: ALL OUR FRENCH SOURCES CONFIRM GISCARD'S STATEMENT THAT FRANCE HAS NO INTENTION OF STATIONING PLUTON IN THE FRG, AT LEAST AT THE PRESENT TIME (SEE CONFIDENTIAL

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PARIS 10476 FOR DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THIS SUBJECT). BUT GISCARD MUST BE CONCERNED BY THE UNSETTLING EFFECT ON FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS FLOWING FROM THE UNCERTAINTIES SURROUNDING THE USE OF PLUTON. SINCE GISCARD ASCRIBES PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO THE PARIS-BONN LINK, WE SUSPECT THAT HE IS LOOKING FOR SOME WAY -- SHORT OF STATIONING PLUTON IN GERMANY NOW -- TO REASSURE THE GERMANS THAT PLUTON'S POSSIBLE USE WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION GERMAN CONCERNS OVER TARGETING, COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS, AND STRATEGY FOR EMPLOYMENT. THERE MAY WELL HAVE BEEN POLITICAL/MILITARY EXCHANGES BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE FRG ON THESE ASPECTS, ALTHOUGH OUR FRENCH SOURCES ASSURE US THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE.

C. NATO SUMMIT: THE FORMULA FOR GISCARD'S ATTENDANCE IN BRUSSELS HAS GIVEN THE DOMESTIC OPPOSITION A SMALL TARGET TO SHOOT AT. WE BELIEVE GISCARD'S ACTION DEMONSTRATES HIS DESIRE TO ACTIVELY FIND WAYS TO CONCILIATE POTENTIAL FRANCO-AMERICAN DISCORD -- WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS.

D. SOVIET MILITARY THREAT: IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH US, ALL GOF LEADERS ARE QUITE PREPARED TO IDENTIFY THE SOVIET UNION AS THE CURRENT THREAT TO EUROPE'S SECURITY. MOREOVER, THOSE MOST INTIMATELY CONCERNED WITH DEFENSE MATTERS ARE INCREASINGLY WORRIED BY THE GROWING QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE NATURE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT. THIS PERCEPTION HELPS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS -- NOW, AND EARLIER UNDER POMPIDOU AS WELL -- TO BUILD MORE "NATO OPTIONS" FOR POSSIBLE FRENCH MILITARY COOPERATION IN ALLIANCE DEFENSE. GISCARD'S OBSCURE LANGUAGE ON THE SOVIET THREAT, HOWEVER, DEMONSTRATES HIS DESIRE TO AVOID PUBLIC POLEMICS WITH MOSCOW ON THIS ISSUE.

4. FULL TEXT OF GISCARD'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

POUCHED EUR/WE.
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